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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely"; why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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775 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *innât* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxâyxây*).

[515] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwâ*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *innât* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwâ*, if the *innât* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwâ* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwâ* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwâ* whose *innât* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwâ* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyág*, he died (!) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápo Dios*, St. Peter died (!) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hery executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (!) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bókál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuwát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilă- or *Xasílaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápó, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Maúlatóń: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Maúlatóń* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*buní* "tetter", *rasá*, "itch"), *daxáń*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maáñaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *meránud*, and the kidneys 754 of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán;* past tense: *piñkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manadál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including 753 suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *meránud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The 755 *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

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763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's
755 body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit
763 (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in, mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyáy*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxáy matáyyin* or *atán matáy*, "he is dying", which means that *bitti- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matáy*).

763 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the
201 women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water; but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europeans and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

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they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples.

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child .... my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone .... would that I might die instead .... why do you leave your mother? ...." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg.

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife".

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibátān*. The stem *libāt* means "leaving unawares, without notice".